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# GRAVEST WARNING YET ON H-TESTS

Peace News Reporter

"A HAZARD TO THE WORLD'S POPULATION COULD RESULT" IF NUCLEAR TESTS ARE RESUMED ON THE INTENSIVE PATTERN OF THE PAST FIVE YEARS.

This is the finding of one of the most comprehensive fall-out surveys ever, made by the US congressional joint committee on atomic energy and released on Monday.

The committee places far more emphasis than in the past on dangers from Carbon 14 (a long-lived substance produced in all types of nuclear tests) which is said to have a radio-active half life of thousands of years.

Greater attention, it says, must also be paid to short-lived fission products, such as Strontium 89, Barium 140 and Iodine 131.

The committee's conclusions are reached from scientific hearings conducted in May by a special panel headed by Senator Chester Holifield.

## Any dose is harmful

The authoritative committee dismisses the idea that there is a "threshold below which radiation does not damage."

"The best assumption at present," it says, "is that any dose, however small, produces some biological effect, and that this effect is harmful."

The committee's report, entitled "Fall-out from Nuclear Weapons Tests," reveals "high spots" where radio-activity levels are abnormally high.

It also points out that when a hazard from a particular fall-out element is assessed, the cumulative hazard from all the other fall-out elements is not taken into account.

Strontium 90 and Caesium 137, it says, are still the greatest threat in fall-out, and the content of them in food has risen even more sharply since 1957 than the total fall-out from the intensive Russian and American testing in 1958.

It is forecast that the average concentration of Strontium 90 in human bones from past tests will reach its maximum in the period 1962-1965.

Radio-active debris remains in the stratosphere from one to five years, says the committee, not from five to ten years—as calculated at official hearings in 1957.

This revision has an obvious bearing on any resumption of tests. As the voluntary one-year cessation of tests comes to an end,

● ON BACK PAGE

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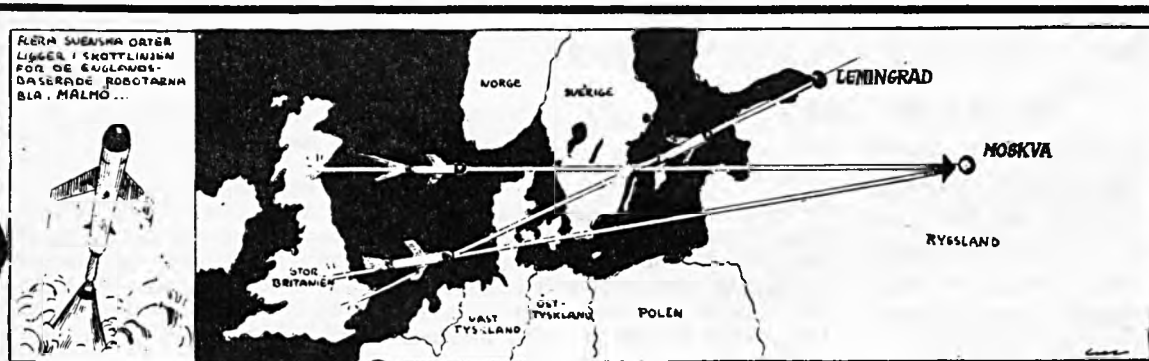
## SKÅNSKA DAGBLADET

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Tisdagen den 11 augusti 1959

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### For risk att Göran Johansson skall bryta sam



### Detta är vårt lands kusliga dilemma

Thor-robotarna som ligger i NATO-försvaret genom Sverige är egentligen försvarsvapen som står i vägen för att Sverige skall bli ett neutralt land. De står i vägen för att Sverige skall bli ett neutralt land. De står i vägen för att Sverige skall bli ett neutralt land.

## Rockets from Britain will fall on us—Swedes

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

SWEDISH readers saw this diagram across the front page of one of their daily newspapers, the Skånska Dagbladet of Malmö, on August 11. It is the official organ of the Swedish Agrarian Party which has about 30 seats in the Swedish parliament.

The map shows the firing lines from British missile bases. One crosses Malmö, another Gothenburg, and a third Norrköping.

The caption says:

"The Thor rockets, which are part of the NATO defence link in Europe, are unreliable instruments. This is openly admitted by the respective authorities. They admit that they have not learnt how to guide them and that there is a tendency for them to deviate very often from their route and to fall before the target is reached.

"Many Swedish towns—such as

Malmö—are in the firing line of the Thor rockets based in England. . . . Moscow and Leningrad will surely be the most likely targets. Swedish towns such as Gothenburg, Malmö, Norrköping and Jönköping may just as well become the targets, as they are in the firing line.

"Only half of the rockets which the Germans fired from their bases in Holland during the war reached their targets in England. The others fell en route. Techniques seem not to have advanced much since then. The rockets of

today are still falling en route. Sweden is on that route and the rockets have H-bomb warheads.

"Two keys are necessary to send off the Thor rockets from England, one English and one American. Dare they make use of them?"

Publication coincided with the display of the British Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament's "No Place to Hide Exhibition" in Malmö. This exhibition which incorporates much Peace News material is drawing large crowds during its tour of Sweden.

## "ALL NATIONS DAY" EXCEPT FOR BALTIMORE'S NEGROES

THE Congress of Racial Equality, US anti-colour-bar organisation for breaking down the colour bar by non-violent methods, launched by the Fellowship of Reconciliation, is to picket the Gwynn Oak Amusement Park on Sunday, September 6, when the city of Baltimore celebrates "All Nations Day."

The Amusement Park adheres to a policy of barring Negroes.

The demonstration will take place at the main entrance between 3 and 5 p.m. Participants can either come directly to the site (by car or city bus) or they can go there with the CORE group which will be leaving from a central point in Baltimore.

Further information may be had from Mrs. Giles Brown, 2816 Maryland Avenue, Baltimore 18.

A recently formed CORE Group in

Miami is at work on a project to end the colour bar at two large down-town lunch counters. There is no place in the shopping area where Negroes can sit down and have a cup of coffee, a sandwich or ice-cream.

There has been good TV and radio coverage of their non-violent activities and membership of the Miami CORE has increased as a result.

Today, Friday, August 28

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## THE SAHARA TESTS

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Alao Basharun, April Carter

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## An American, ARLO TATUM,\* looks at the BRITISH C.O. TRIBUNALS

IN London recently I did what Mavis James in Peace News frequently urges us all to do. I visited, at Kensington Town Hall, a session of a Conscientious Objectors Tribunal.

For over four years now I have heard about these impartial, fair-minded Tribunals; from pacifists who must have studiously avoided any contact with them. If the one I attended is typical, they are not impartial, not fair-minded, and not even honest.

First let me state my own relevant beliefs—or prejudices, if you prefer. I do not believe that one man (or five) can judge the sincerity of another, particularly without reference to overt acts. Further, I do not believe in the right of a government to conscript, and therefore have never been conscripted. Service to my fellow man is a day-to-day objective hampered by, rather than directed by, the government of my neighbours' choice. For many reasons, some conscientious and some practical, I was a non-registrant in the United States, twice matching wits with F.B.I. agents rather than Tribunal members.

### Guilt is assumed

Although a quasi-court atmosphere prevailed in the London Tribunal hearing, including standing when the aged Chairman and his cohorts entered, it is not a court. It's worse. The applicant is presumed guilty (the young liar says he is a CO) unless proved innocent. This is a handicap

\*The writer is General Secretary of the War Resisters' International, but writes in his personal capacity.

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—and doesn't like what he sees

not given ordinary criminals in a court of law. Yet the Chairman at Kensington Town Hall, in the manner of a wise man stating the obvious, had the audacity to tell one applicant that he was not there to defend himself! What else?

There is one other somewhat less dastardly difference between a CO Tribunal and a court of law. The latter seeks to uphold all the laws, in theory at least, while the former seeks to force a person from one legal position to another. It is, after all, perfectly legal to be a CO. The applicants are "good" boys, seeking to co-operate with the conscription system.

In West Germany, greater impartiality on the part of Tribunals is sought by having one pacifist member. An invidious position for a pacifist! The answer does not lie in this direction of divided partiality, which is quite a different thing from impartiality.

The British Tribunals act as both the prosecution and the judge. As recruiters

for Her Majesty's Armed Forces they attack the applicants and then, as representatives of revered British Justice, they decide whether the attack has been successful. Obviously only certified schizophrenics could handle such an assignment properly.

### Right or privilege?

To what extent the right of conscientious objection has been established in Great Britain is an open question. Perhaps it has been established for members of certain churches and the Religious Society of Friends. During the session I attended two church members were automatically given the conditional exemption requested. The Chairman did not even bother to consult his colleagues, so I assume it had been agreed upon in advance. (Had they also agreed on the men to ask trick questions and strike from the CO Register?)

A young man with a silver tongue, an agile mind, and a respectful attitude stands

## TOWARDS A PEACEFUL SOCIETY—V

### The Taena Community

By MARGARET TIMS

THE story of the Taena Community is the story of all those youthful seekers after truth of the 20th century who grew up between the wars and who so often seemed to their "elders and betters" merely aimless, unprincipled and perverse.

They had cast away the old values without thought for the new. But the apparent aimlessness concealed an intensity of longing to discover a meaning in life that was profoundly more moral than the superficial "bourgeois" morality which they had rejected. If this seeking seems less marked in the post-war generation, that is all the more reason to remind ourselves of what it once meant.

Typical of the growing-point of his generation was George Ineson, who helped to found the Taena Community in 1940 with a small group of pacifists living in Cornwall. He has told the story of their subsequent vicissitudes—with unusual honesty, sensitivity and humility—in his autobiographical book "Community Journey," published by Sheed & Ward in 1956.

### MILESTONES

The milestones are familiar: Nonconformist Christianity, socialist materialism, Jungian psychology, Eastern mysticism. . . That this particular journey ended with the reception of the whole community into the Roman Catholic Church need not limit its interest to fellow-believers or reduce its relevance for fellow-travellers on the road to truth. As George Ineson has put it: "The essential family is of those who seek."

The struggles of this small and dedicated group—its splits and upheavals and reconciliations—make painful reading at times. It was indeed scarcely less than a miracle when a gift of £10,000 from a comparative stranger, who has since become a member, enabled them to buy a 130-acre farm near Gloucester in 1952. Legal ownership is vested in the neighbouring Prinknash Abbey, which is also the acknowledged spiritual authority, and the community are linked with the Abbey as "oblates of St. Benedict."

The community is described in its constitution as composed of "families and single people engaged in farm and craft-work; having all things in common and holding to the spirit of the Rule of our

holy father Benedict 'that in all things God may be glorified.'"

New members are regarded as probationers for one year, and novices for a further two. Single people must stay six months before making the decision to join; families must visit regularly for one year before moving in. Full members make a gift to the community of all their possessions. They receive personal pocket money and holiday periods are granted each year.

The basic unit of the community is the family, and responsibility for the care of children rests entirely with the parents. Gradually the families are being housed in their own separate dwellings. Recently George Ineson, who is a trained architect, designed and built two bungalows, which will provide homes for two families and additional accommodation for guests. Visitors of all beliefs are welcome, and Taena is on the panel of the Servas "open doors" scheme. It also has a close and friendly relationship with the Society of Brothers (Bruderhof).

The high proportion of children in the community creates economic difficulties. The main work of farming is supplemented by a small pottery and some wood-carving. It is hoped to expand these activities in the near future, and perhaps to open up new work by offering foster-homes for orphans. The crying need, says the steward Tom Casserley, is for suitable young people who are willing to come and receive training and to work for their keep. The community could use two more potters and two gardeners immediately.

### PATTERN

The special religious basis of the community would naturally attract serious enquirers of the Catholic faith, though others are not excluded. The daily rhythm of the office, starting with Lauds and Prime at 6.0 a.m. and ending at 9.30 p.m. with Compline, is essential to the pattern of the life. And out of their long history of trial and error members have come to believe that acceptance of the discipline of the Church is a condition of survival for the community.

One need not accept this particular form of discipline in order to acknowledge its value. In an age of triviality, of "images" and counter-images and shadows on a television screen, it is good to know that at some points a deeper vision exists, and is expressed.

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a good chance of being granted CO status, but I am not sure it would classify as a right. The non-intellectual has neither right nor privilege—he needs a miracle! None was forthcoming for the three who applied when I was there. As the five Tribunal members have a total of about 100 years' more experience than the applicant, I see no cause to admire their ability to tongue-tie these three applicants—one at a time, of course. The Tribunal could and did, growl, misinterpret, raise their voices, smirk, intimidate and humiliate. The applicants, needless to say, didn't have quite so much leeway.

### It is important

In one practical sense, the system of legal recognition in Great Britain may be an issue which will resolve itself. If conscription does end as announced, this aspect of it will die as well. Meantime, believers in alternative service should consider afresh whether they approve it regardless of the system used. In Scandinavian countries, for example, there are no tribunals, in the USA more appeals.

Are you sure the British system has been morally worthy of support?

I believe pacifists would do well to recognise that support given to the present system has been and is a grievous mistake. For pacifists in other countries the issue is not a dying one. Let us, on their behalf, bury the miscreant monster we have helped to create—not with pride in British justice, but with shame for our participation in an evil system.

## German war ministry's opinion poll

Peace News Reporter

REARMAMENT is now accepted by the overwhelming majority of the German people. And the old, much reduced, Left-wing opposition to it now has to contend with a Right-wing element which thinks that the arms programme is too small.

These are the main features of a recent German public opinion poll held at the request of the Defence Ministry.

Forty-seven per cent approve of the planned ceiling of 350,000 men for the German forces; 16 per cent think it is too high; 23 per cent too low; and 14 per cent "don't know."

On NATO integration, 53 per cent consider the Western alliance and German military integration into NATO as the best solution; 13 per cent remain opposed to rearmament; 18 per cent would prefer an independent national army; and 16 per cent "don't know."

Civilian control of the military machine is approved by 73 per cent; 14 per cent would prefer a military man at the head of the Defence Ministry; 13 per cent "don't know."



## ON SHOW



REQUESTS are flowing into our office for photographic and other material for shop window displays and exhibitions in connection with Nuclear Disarmament Week. The

"No Place to Hide" Exhibition for which we provided a great deal of material is having a tremendously enthusiastic reception in Sweden, its display in Stockholm amounting to a major anti-war demonstration.

We are also asked to lend a hand with the preparation of displays of peace literature when the Freshers are introduced to pacifist societies at the beginning of the new University session.

In helping to keep the Peace News organisation alive and kicking, the Peace News Fund helps a number of ventures in addition to the publication week by week of this very necessary newspaper.

But the Peace News Fund is lagging behind its target. We need help urgently. Can you respond today?

## THE EDITOR.

Contributions since Aug. 14: £17 7s. 5d. Total since Feb. 1, 1959: £648 10s. 11d. Still needed: £1,852.

Anonymous donations gratefully acknowledged from "WW" 12s.; "Littlehampton" £1; "In memory of Edith Harmsworth" 15s.

To guide readers who wish to benefit Peace News when making their wills, the following form of Legacy is suggested: . . . and I give the sum of £. . . free of duty to Peace News, Ltd., the principal place of business of which is at 5 Caledonian Road, Islington, in the County of London.

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## To help Lebanese

"YOU can help feed hungry children in Lebanon" is the theme of pictorial educational material issued by the American Friends Service Committee (Quakers) in their children's series of "Friendly Things To Do."

The material illustrates the background to the situation which existed in Lebanon at the end of the fighting in 1958, and reminds American children that "five cents buys two loaves of bread and eight cents buys one quart of milk," and encourages them to contribute money to a child-feeding programme which the Quakers are undertaking in the Middle East.

Details of their educational material for children may be obtained from any of the American Friends Service Committee regional offices, or from their headquarters at 20 South Twelfth Street, Philadelphia 7, Penn.

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## PEOPLE AND PLACES by PHYZ

## THE SUN ROSE IN THE WEST

THE Japanese have H-test neurosis, so the papers say . . . Perhaps the case of Hiroshi Nagano explains why.

Chief engineer of the Japanese Maritime Safety Board survey ship Takuyo, Mr. Nagano, began to feel ill at the end of July. He complained of bleeding gums and a scratch on the hand that would not heal. A few days later, just before the formal opening at Hiroshima of the world conference on the banning of nuclear weapons, he died. The provisional diagnosis said "leukaemia."

Since this disease is well known in Japan the story might have ended there. But it is known that Mr. Nagano was on board the Takuyo on a survey mission in the Pacific last year. Unfortunately the ship was only 186 miles west of the Eniwetok danger zone while the United States was conducting nuclear tests.

Although outside the danger zone, the Takuyo was showered with radio-active rain, and geiger tests revealed 37,000 counts a minute on her deck. A number of the crew showed a drop in their white blood corpuscle count. The verdict of the experts: no evidence of a harmful dose of radiation.

Then a month ago Mr. Nagano began to complain of dizziness each time he went up and down the companionways of the Takuyo. His wife persuaded him to go to hospital, so he went along to the First Tokyo Hospital, which specialises in radiation disease. It was completely full—not a bed to spare!

Now the experts say that *perhaps* it wasn't fall-out that killed him. Leukaemia, they say, can be contracted by one patient in about ten thousand without any exposure to radio-active fall-out.

Mr. Nagano's death recalls the experience of the Fukuryu Maru, the Japanese trawler known to the Western world as the Lucky Dragon. In March, 1954, with a crew of 23 fishermen aboard, the Lucky Dragon was caught in the fall-out of a hydrogen bomb exploded 100 miles away on Bikini Atoll.

The Japanese have H-test neurosis, so the papers say. . .

## Soviet protests

TALKING about nuclear tests, recent headlines in "Soviet News," the hand-out of the Press Department of the Soviet Embassy in London, read: "Soviet Scientists Denounce French Plan for Nuclear Tests in Sahara Desert. Danger to Health and Life of Future Generations."

How much stronger such a denunciation would be if it had been preceded two years ago by protests against the explosions in Siberia! Of course, it is quite likely that there were protests in Russia, though the Government was doubtless anxious that nothing should be heard of them—and it would have been difficult for such Top

People as scientists to have protested openly.

We do know for certain, however, about Academician Peter Kapitsa, who refused to work on the Russian H-bomb. This leading Soviet nuclear physicist was kept under house arrest for the last seven years of Stalin's rule.

He confirmed his refusal in a telephone conversation from Moscow with the Editor of Peace News on July 24, 1956. I wonder what the Russian scientists who protest against French tests think about *that*.

## The case for NVR

ADVOCATES of non-violence are most often looked on with scorn by the "established Left" in Britain.

It was particularly encouraging therefore to read the following passage in the latest number of the socialist weekly, The New Reasoner:

"Marxists, I believe, have given far too little fundamental and principled

## A PEEP BEHIND THE PROPAGANDA

HEINZ KRASCHUTZKI'S article on East Germany ("East Germany: a peep behind the propaganda"), which was published in Peace News on June 26, debunked some of the Western myths about the "other half" of Germany. It was reprinted in the July 31 issue of the German Democratic Report—a semi-official publication from East Germany.

The following paragraphs were omitted in the reprinted version:

"It is not even true that all those who rose against the Government on June 17, 1953, would have been willing to join the Adenauer régime. On inter-zonal trains leaving the East for the West railwaymen at Magdeburg wrote slogans to the effect: 'Let us get rid of Ulbricht here, and you of Adenauer there!'

"Meanwhile many things have changed. The fact that the Russians acted in a very moderate way at that time, let their tanks at Potsdamer Platz be stoned by youngsters (many of whom had come from West Berlin) without firing back into the crowd, won them sympathy. This was not reported to the public in Western countries."

## FILM WITHDRAWN

The Canadian National Film Board had to withdraw their production "Black and White in South Africa." Although considered a dispassionate account of South African race relations, the South African Government made representations to the Canadian Government about the way in which apartheid was portrayed.

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## Prisons . . .

THE Annual Report of the Prison Commissioners for 1958 is another rather dismal addition to the series, but that is not the fault of the Prison Commissioners. They are faced with another increase in the numbers of people in Britain committed to prison, and their plans for training, segregation, open establishments and better staff relationships with prisoners are being constantly interfered with by sheer pressure of numbers.

Whether prison can ever do any good remains to be argued—some training establishments produce excellent results, and while we have anti-social conduct we must devise varied ways of dealing with it; prison should be a last resort and then be made as constructive as possible.

This is a theory finding increased acceptance—a document to be put before a conference in Strasbourg next month where penal treatment will be discussed refers to the modern conception that prison must become a link in a chain of social institutions. But no such theory can be put into practice when prison is used for the wrong purpose or manned by the wrong people.

The Report underlines this. A daily population of over 25,000 prisoners included 1,400 on remand and awaiting trial, many of whom were later discharged or suffered penalties which did not bring them back to prison. The population also included about 850 people in prison for debt, and some hundreds more who were there for non-payments of fines, many of whom had been given no time to pay their fines.

But the daily average figure does not tell the whole story, for every prisoner on remand needs producing in court at the end of his remand, and that takes an officer for an escort. Something like 40,000 people passed through prison last year simply awaiting trial or awaiting sentence; and only just over 37,000 passed through prison as sentenced prisoners.

This wide use of prison as a place where people can go to await trial or sentence is lamentable; it takes up accommodation which can ill be spared (6,000 prisoners were sleeping three in a cell last year) and it uses up the time and energy of the staff who ought to be devoting themselves to the care and training of the convicted prisoners.

## . . . and new methods

THIS does not sound as funny as some people who have seen our prisons in the past might think—for the modern prison officer is being encouraged to take part in training. The old standing orders of no fraternisation, no familiarity, and all the rest of it are going by the board and, starting in Norwich and now spreading

to many other prisons, the modern idea is that each officer shall have personal responsibility for a group of prisoners, talk with them, work with them, and bring to the attention of doctors or welfare officers the personal difficulties which are so often revealed in such a relationship. The ultimate effect of this must be to attract good officers and it could lead to a long-overdue acceptance of the prison service as a social service.

Prisons and prison officers are fair game for criticism, much of it deserved; but no one can read this Report without realising that there is a genuine wish to get on with reformative ideas in our prisons, and there are some interesting stories of the success of open camps and industrial development.

But all the time the authorities are bogged down by sheer weight of numbers. They are having greater success in their work, despite this, as the reconviction rates show. But nevertheless new crime continues to increase and it is high time that research, now at last to be possible through the Cambridge Institute of Criminology, turned to discovering the social causes of crime. If they can be found, if the numbers of offenders can be reduced, there seems to be a reasonable hope that such prisons as remain might become useful, constructive, and even hopeful institutions.

Institutions should, however, always be the last resort. Over 4,000 first offenders were sent to prison last year, and it is hard to believe that most of them could not have been dealt with by other means, particularly by the use of probation—if only we had sufficient probation officers. But here we enter another vicious circle; because their probation officers are so greatly overworked some magistrates hesitate to add to the load and in some cases prison is used for that reason only. Yet the expense of another few hundred probation officers would be trifling, as compared with the expense of prison where, at present, each inmate costs the country £384 a year—about half the average salary of a probation officer.

## Kirchentag

THIS year's Kirchentag, held in Munich, had a profoundly disturbing feature. Taking part in this great religious occasion, which unites church people from East and West Germany, were 1,700 uniformed West German soldiers. They had been told to appear in uniform, not by their officers, but by their military chaplain and the official church authorities.

The soldiers, assembled in one of the large beer halls in Munich (not the one where Hitler used to speak), were addressed by Bishop Dibelius and other bishops and members of the West German Government. The theme was "God loves a soldier."

No wonder the East German Government was alarmed. It is such things that imperil the position of the Evangelical Church as the one and only unifying factor in a divided Germany.

Not that the East German Government is clear of charges of trying to regiment the church. Only 1,000 people, all carefully selected, were allowed to come to the Kirchentag this year. There are usually about 15,000 from Eastern Germany. A few had come unofficially to the

Kirchentag, but they had to keep clear of the official representatives.

These unofficial delegates reported that the church is being subjected to more and more restrictions in East Germany. They described the policy of the Ulbricht-Grotewohl Government as "the pig must be killed but must not squeak" (as the farmers said during Nazism when it was forbidden to slaughter any animals on the farms).

The two most prominent pacifist clergymen in Germany, Dr. Niemöller and Dean Grüber, both kept away from the Kirchentag. Dr. Niemöller was on holiday and Dean Grüber too busy. We believe that it was the meeting of the uniformed soldiers which made them avoid the Kirchentag this year.

A well-informed journalist from a neutral country tells us that the military aspect of the Kirchentag did not go down well with the participants. Most of the laymen showed their annoyance in various ways. There was strong applause whenever a speech was made against the atom bomb, and pacifist plays performed during the Kirchentag drew large audiences.

We see only a dark future for the German church if this split continues. It will only aggravate the geographical division.

## Japan conference

WE have previously expressed our regret that the conferences against A and H-bombs that are held regularly in Japan have become a futility and that it had been undesirable to assist in perpetuating them.

When they began they represented a method by which the Japanese, as the first victims of nuclear weapons, could demonstrate the intensity of their rightly felt desire that these hideous things should not continue to be made, and in which they could be joined in sympathy by those who had at their disposal the resources and the time necessary to travel to Japan. The Conference that has just been held, however, is the fifth, and all this effort, if it is to serve any useful purpose today, should help to clarify the measures necessary to achieve a stable peace.

The Fifth Conference has been marked by a disabling bias that destroys any moral value that might be attached to its declarations. While, for instance, it declared against the French intention to equip itself with A-bombs, it has nothing to say about the declared Chinese intention to do the same thing. Similarly, while condemnation is delivered against the Western Powers for the evil they are undoubtedly perpetrating in different parts of the world as part of their military preparations, there is a complete omission of any reference to what China is doing in Tibet or what Russia has done in Hungary. It thus becomes plain that those making these pronouncements have forfeited any claim to serious attention.

Two Germans present at the Conference, one American and two English, including Arthur Goss of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (as Chairman of the former National Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapon Tests he did much to lay the foundations of the present Campaign in Britain), resigned from the Conference in protest after they had made every effort to induce those conducting it to provide for some degree of impartiality, and we do not see that they could decently have done anything else.

## LETTERS

### Polebrook

I WAS one of those who took part in the Polebrook Rally organised by Direct Action last Saturday. Before the march set off we were approached by villagers with collecting boxes for contributions towards the repair of Polebrook Church. Later, when the marchers reached Polebrook Rocket Base, many besides me must have felt that the farm workers harvesting in the nearby fields were, in a certain sense, making a plea for peace almost as eloquent as our own folks with their loudspeakers.

Could we make our protests in a more constructive way? Would it be possible, for example, for the CND or the DAC to raise a team of volunteers to repair Polebrook Church? This would be an unmistakable way of asserting our belief in non-violence as opposed to war and mass murder. The villagers, and the workers on the rocket site, could (and largely did) ignore our poster parade; they could scarcely ignore or misrepresent a really constructive act—the very antithesis of a nuclear rocket—on their doorsteps.

There would, of course, be difficulties: the repairs are probably a job for skilled craftsmen, but experience in international work camps has shown that much work of this sort can be done successfully by unskilled volunteers with skilled supervision. It should not be impossible to gather a nucleus of sympathetic craftsmen, since Saturday's meeting was addressed by leading members of two building trade unions. We would need the support of the local Trades Council, in case we appeared to be competing with "paid labour," but this

support should be forthcoming as the local Trades Council is already committed to unilateral nuclear disarmament. We would need the consent of the local church council.

The project would, of course, be fruitless if it was undertaken for publicity, or in any spirit but that of non-violence in its deepest sense. But I feel sure that an act of witness on these lines might speak to ordinary people more clearly than the subtle arguments of party politicians or the most impressive parade of lollipop banners.

Other projects, such as building a playground or a village hall, might be undertaken in other villages which find themselves harbouring a rocket site. I should perhaps add that my criticisms of the DAC are not put forward in an unconstructive spirit. Nuclear disarmers have already shown their willingness to use unorthodox methods. Perhaps some would be ready to consider this new proposal?—JOHN LYNES (and seven other signatories), 101, Lonsdale Road, Thurmaston, Leicester.

### Anglicans and peace

THE Anglican Pacifist Fellowship has just had its Annual Conference. This year at Oxford, the general theme was "The Lambeth Conference, 1958: The Reconciling of Conflicts Between and Within Nations."

Readers of Peace News will realise how profitable and practical the lectures were when they hear that the speakers included Miss Vera Brittain, Mr. Leslie Aldous (UNA), the Rev. D. A. Keighley (British Council of Churches), the Rev. Paul Glid-

don, the Rev. Fr. Neville, and the Rev. Francis Noble, under the Chairmanship of the Rev. Canon Scrutton. We also had the pleasure of hearing Mr. Tennyson Makiwane from South Africa.

Anglicans who would like to strengthen their personal Church witness by taking part in this work of reconciliation are invited to write for notes of the conference (ready early September) to the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship, 29 Great James Street, W.C.1.—EILEEN FLETCHER, Stoke Grange, Clendon Road, Guildford, Surrey.

### A beaten foe?

MISS ETHEL MANNIN must have had her head in the sands during the war against Japan, as the use of suicidal pilots was introduced early in the war, but what was exhaustible were the planes to carry them.

In the first war I was foolish enough to join the navy, and, when volunteers were called for, for a job of an equally suicidal nature, so many came forward that many were refused, I being one. I was, however, accepted for a "Mystery Ship." The impulse was not divine belief in anyone but the supposed glory and the extra £ s.d.

However, my point is that the strategem employed was no new weapon but one long employed by the Japanese and had no relation with the dropping of the atom bomb.—GORDON BESSON, 23 Nelson Road, New Malden, Surrey.

DR. ELMER BARNES' startling information (PN, Aug. 7) about the circumstances surrounding the dropping of the atom bombs, and statements made since by

the chief actors, appears to have given rise to correspondence that might well prove very dangerous.

"Is it true that Japan was already beaten or was she very far from beaten?"

In the light of the information about Japan's readiness to discuss surrender on the most abject terms it would seem that she was literally beaten and realised it. But to argue seriously as to whether or not this was fully realised by those responsible for this terrible crime can soon lead to the question: "Was the action justified?"

That is why I say such discussion is dangerous. There can be no justification, no excuse, no condonation. It was a crime without parallel. Its effects far exceed the deaths and maimings caused either by the initial explosion or the subsequent after-effects. Not only did it lead on to the H-bomb, guided missiles with nuclear warheads, "conventional" nuclear weapons, dirty bombs and clean bombs and talk of "limiting the scope of wars," but it acclimatised people, who a short time ago were shocked at Germany's saturation bombing of Warsaw, Rotterdam and Coventry, into the acceptance of the ultimate in military horror.

Soon we shall have an acceptance of germ warfare and other methods of mass-slaughter.

The task of pacifists and non-pacifists desirous of preserving peace is to awaken the public conscience to the enormity of the crime of war on a modern scale, not to seek to find out the reasons for the introduction of this particularly large-scale destructive method.—R. WALSH, 154 Droop St., London, W.10.

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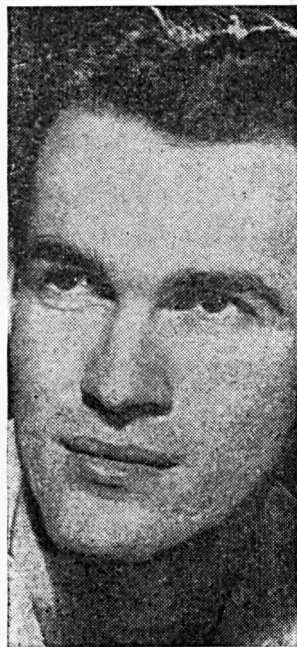
# A NEW DIRECTION IN POLITICS

## Gandhi's challenge to political thought

**Conquest of Violence: The Gandhian Philosophy of Conflict.** By Joan V. Bondurant. Princeton University Press, U.S.A.

THIS is not "another Gandhi book." It is not a pious eulogy of Gandhi's goodness and saintliness. It is not simply an account of Gandhi's beliefs. The author has attempted more, and has succeeded.

By



GENE SHARP

This is the first study by a Western political scientist of the significance of Gandhi and satyagraha. It is undoubtedly the most important existing study of the relevance of satyagraha for the solution of the most crucial problems in Western political theory and practice.

From Gandhi's "experiments" Dr. Bondurant has abstracted "a theoretical key to the problem of social and political conflict." That "key" is not an illusion that it is possible to completely eliminate all conflict from human relations. It is not compromise; there are cases in which compromise becomes "barter" and "proceeds to distort conviction and principle."

The "key," rather, is a peaceful method of responding to and conducting conflict once it exists. "It is when conflict persists that satyagraha supplies the processes whereby constructive solutions may yet be achieved. Satyagraha points to a new method of revolution. . . . It also points the direction in which techniques of adjustment of persisting conflict could be developed within a Liberal Democratic State."

Satyagraha—defined as "an ethic-principle the essence of which is a social technique of action"—is not in Dr. Bondurant's view dependent upon Gandhi's teachings on vegetarianism, sexual continence, and non-possession. The social significance of Gandhi's method of social action transcends them—whether or not Gandhi's views on these points were correct.

### Technique

"The most potent legacy Gandhi left to India was the technique of satyagraha," writes the author. This "technique for social and political change . . . became an instrument of struggle for positive objectives and for fundamental change—a technique more widely used than understood and one which yet called for testing in the field of social and political action."

The author reviews Gandhi's concepts of truth, *ahimsa* (non-violence), and self-suffering. Although absolute truth exists, man's knowledge of it is always relative; this rules out all right to use violence in its fulfilment. The quest for truth means for Gandhi active participation in society—not withdrawal from "the world."

*Ahimsa* is defined as "action based on the refusal to do harm," and related to the Christian term "charity" and the Greek term *agape*. *Ahimsa* and truth are intertwined and inseparable. It is not possible to find truth without *ahimsa*. "The inseparable combination of truth and love in the Gandhian position forms the nucleus of the Gandhian solution to the problem of means." Truth can be reached only by adherence to *ahimsa*, which provides a way of testing relative truths as they appear to men, and *ahimsa* becomes "the one recognisable standard by which true action can be determined."

Satyagraha has nothing to do with passivity or submission to evil. Said Gandhi,

followed by summary analyses. This section gives the reader who is relatively new in the field a quick grasp of what type of social action is involved. Any illusions that it is passive, cowardly, or an afternoon tea are dispelled.

"Satyagraha, as applied socio-political action, requires a comprehensive programme of planning, preparation, and studied execution." The tactics applied vary from one situation to another.

Writing of Gandhi and the Indian environment, Dr. Bondurant says that he cannot be dismissed "as merely a revivalist." "The Indian and the modern Western both function within Gandhian philosophy." The universal elements in satyagraha are demonstrated by its practice by the warlike Pathans under Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan in the predominately Muslim North-West Frontier Province.

This is of "profound significance," for it is proof that the application of satyagraha need not be limited to people familiar with the Hindu religious and philosophical concepts and that it can be practised by people who have been trained in arms and traditionally have been brave warriors.

"The technique of satyagraha, man controlled and non-deterministic, operating to achieve a mutually satisfactory solution in a conflict situation, could appeal to a range of minds schooled in a variety of religious-philosophical systems" and is relevant for the West.

Although Gandhi was not a theorist, he is in the author's view immensely significant for Western political theory and action.

### Organisation

It is impossible to fit Gandhi into the traditional schools of political thought. The introduction of satyagraha "into any system would necessarily effect modifications of that system" along the lines of redistributing and resettling power and authority.

"Gandhi saw at every hand the inequities and imperfections of political and social organisation. He raised, then, questions of *how* but only occasionally those of *what*. 'How can we transform the system?' superseded 'What is the form of an ideal organisation?'"

The author offers stimulating analyses of conservatism, anarchism, authoritarian idealism and liberal democracy. Political theory, she writes, "has failed to deal adequately with the question of means. For example, she concludes that 'The anarchist has no constructive technique whereby he can struggle towards anarchist goals.'"

Liberal democracy has been concerned "with mechanism, not with action, with form rather than performance, with instrument and not technique." When there is not "extensive, fundamental agreement" within the society, or when faced with external aggression or with subversion, then the weakness of liberal democracy becomes apparent.

"It relies ultimately upon violent force for the maintenance of its very foundations. It does not challenge, but depends upon, violent force as the operative sanction provided in its basic law."

The problem of means and ends is most serious in how to conduct conflict. It is here that satyagraha, "claiming to be more than means, to be, indeed end-creating,



introduces a dynamic element with challenging implications for political method."

Dr. Bondurant contends that "in the Gandhian development lies a contribution of great significance for political philosophy. The contribution centres upon the rôle which satyagraha as a technique of action, together with the philosophy of conflict which lies behind it, may play in a social and political system based upon them."

Gandhi's "inestimable" contribution to political theory is "not alone to the development of a social and political method. It extends further into the realm of political thought and challenges the substantial presuppositions of the mainstream of political theory."

### Action

Traditional political thought has assumed a separation of ends and means, while satyagraha points to "the necessity of reconciling ends and means through a philosophy of action."

"It is only when means themselves are understood to be—and designed to be—more than instrumental, to be, in fine, *creative* that the next step will be taken in the evolution of a constructive philosophy of conflict."

After advocating study of this problem area and non-violent methods of action by political philosophers and social scientists, Dr. Bondurant concludes:

"Inevitable conflict and the threat of uncontrolled violence are conditions of the human circumstance. Man grows increasingly concerned over the dangers which freight his ventures into violence. But it is not enough that he should take unreasoned flight from violence. The Gandhian experiments suggest that if man is to free himself from fear and threat alike, he pause in his flight from violence to set himself to the task of its conquest."

### Methods

There are weaknesses in this book, the author's use of the term "non-resistance" and the inadequacy of the discussion on "non-violent coercion," for example. But to dwell upon them in a review of this length would put them out of all proportion to the strengths of the volume and the great contribution which Dr. Bondurant has made.

This reviewer is tempted to insert at this point an analysis of traditional Western pacifism to parallel the author's analyses of conservatism, anarchism, authoritarian idealism and liberal democracy. It would not be difficult to demonstrate that traditional pacifist thought has in large degree also ignored the question of means—that is of the *methods* of social action by which a pacifist society is to be created.

The question has usually either been ignored, by saying that goodwill and peace will come by themselves if only we all do "our bit"—in a very individualistic way. Or it has been assumed—falsely—that individual refusal to participate in war was in itself adequate as a means to abolish war, when its main significance in practice



# The story of Rufus Jones

By JACK SHEPHERD.

The reviewer is Warden, with his wife, at the Friends' International Centre, London.

**Friend of Life.** A Biography of Rufus M. Jones, by Elizabeth Gray Vining. Michael Joseph, 25s.

ONE rainy day in the Swiss Alps, two young men met, and they talked and talked. They were both Quakers: an Englishman called Rowntree, who knew he had not many years to live, and an American called Rufus Jones. That was in 1897. Each man fed fuel to the other's visions. Had that encounter not taken place, it is likely that the Society of Friends might today have become little more than a quaint relic of Stuart-English religion.

It happened, though, that the Society of Friends, for all its failings, strode through the decades of this century as a moral force, and brought to bear a social witness which can still grow.

How much towards this revitalising of a practicable faith did Rufus Jones contribute? This book helps us to realise just how much, and how much, in turn, this vigorous Quakerism contributed to the philosophy of life which marches with the peace movement, with relief work, and work of reconciliation in our times.

## THE MAN

Who was Rufus Jones? He was a farm boy who became a renowned scholar, a mystic who was also a psychologist, a Quaker who was also a theologian, a saint who was also a good companion, a contemplative who did more practical work than most activists, an optimist whose positive thinking was forged through the fires of suffering, a writer whose works influenced people from Dean Inge, through Theodore Dreiser, to Aldous Huxley. He was a man consulted by American Presidents, who bearded the Gestapo in its den in 1938, who shaped the founding of the American Friends Service Committee and the Fellowship of Reconciliation, a man

## HIS IDEAS AT WORK TODAY

The American Friends Service Committee, which Rufus Jones played a large part in founding, has had an international team at work in Korea building 186 houses for war victims (some of which are shown here), helping widows to start small businesses, training school teachers and medical personnel.

whose industry and integrity leaves the rest of us exhausted.

Rufus' forebears were among the early Quakers in England. Thomas and Thankful Jones sailed for America in 1690. Rufus had an aunt called Peace. All thoroughly Quaker. There were boyhood lapses from grace (probably more than Elizabeth Gray Vining confides) but no basic reaction against the family religion.

This, in itself, for a notable person, seems stranger than fiction. Then follows an all-American success story: from log-cabin to Professor's chair by a man keen on games, who played to win, and was given to long and vigorous walks. These hearty factors would prejudice many unhearty readers against Rufus, were he a character in fiction. The astonishing fact remains that he was able to live larger than real life. His Faith was alive.

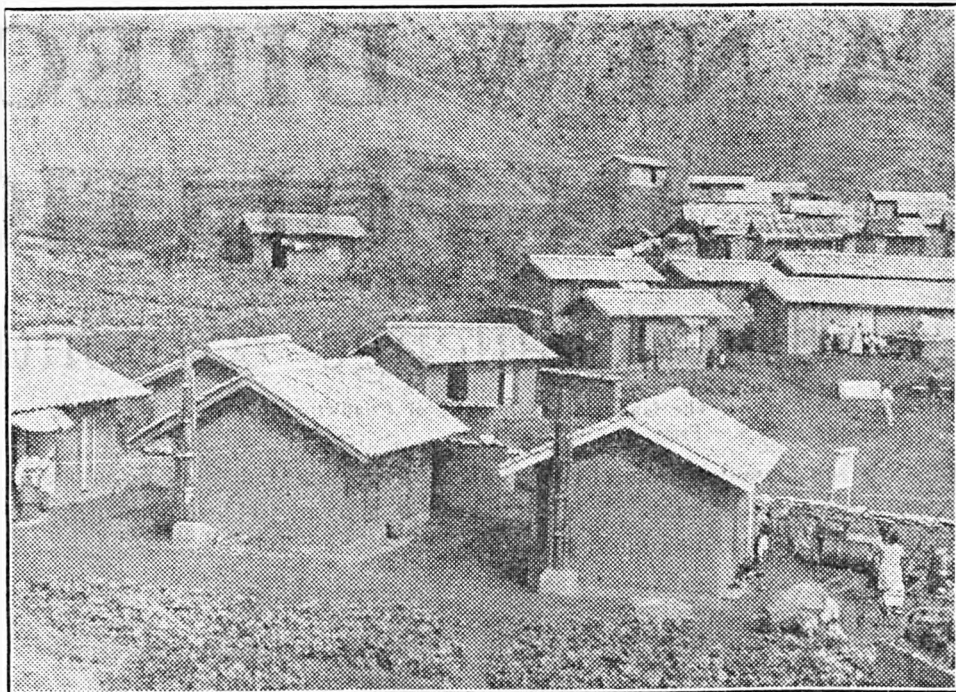
He accepted his own times, but saw beyond them. In an age when *Ever, Onward, Upward* was the motto of all positive thinkers, he was able to perceive and point out that the "cosmic elevator" had stopped running.

## HIS TIMES

In 1921 he had insight enough to understand the dangers of relief work with strings attached. Herbert Hoover attached political safeguards to the American feeding of starving Russians. Rufus Jones minced no words in telling him that the Quakers would have nothing to do with political safeguards. History has shown the worth of Hoover's safeguards. There are still many worthy people who have not learned this lesson, after forty years of bitter experience. Rufus Jones was ahead, not only of his own time, but of ours.

It is strange to recall in this context that he was an unabashed mystic. His books on mystical religion are now in the courses of students of philosophy and psychology, and widely read by a great many people. This concern, as many others, brought Rufus under much suspicion from his brother Quakers who, like the man who spoke prose, had been supposedly mystics all their lives without knowing it. Like all who care enough about something to be intensely critical, he was not popular with the complacent brethren when he voiced his fears and hopes for his beloved Society of Friends. This meant a kind of suffering not easily described, but which shaped his life as closely as the bereavements, the serious accidents, ill-health and pain. He had often to describe himself as a "t.r." (total [w]reck). But he was never that, thank God.

Rufus Jones died in 1948 at the age of 85. Between the many alarms and excursions of his full life, he taught many generations of straight-forward students at their desks. But one feels that Rufus would have much to say, and much to



show, to the angry young men and beatniks of our day. The whole dramatic impact of a life like this needs the pen of a genius in bold shadows, painful ecstasies, fierce joys; a master of the heroic in dull modern dress. It is not surprising that Elizabeth Gray Vining's gracious and feminine style hardly ever presents our Rufus in strong enough lights.

## BUT . . .

It is a painstaking book, and invaluable for reference, a labour of love the sincerity of which is clear on every page; but for this reviewer at least the man does not draw breath as well as he does in the pages of his own books.

But many people like the feminine touch in biography: details of what the bridesmaids wore, who was related to whom, and the inevitable opening paragraph: *On the night of January 25th, 1863, the village . . . lay blanketed in snow . . . A light burned in the front parlour of*

## Gandhi

• FROM PAGE FIVE

has been to provide more inner consistency for the objectors.

With some exceptions the pacifist movement in the West has not developed methods of social action by which the pacifist (or non-violent) society could be created. It is hoped, therefore, that pacifists also will read this book with a searching attitude.

In the reviewer's view the time has passed when methods of non-violent resistance and direct action could be dismissed as "esoteric," "typically Indian," "impractical," or "irrelevant in the West." Twenty years ago, in his classic "War Without Violence," Shridharani wrote:

"My contact with the Western world has led me to think that, contrary to popular belief, satyagraha, once consciously and deliberately adopted, has more fertile fields in which to grow and flourish in the West than in the Orient."

He may be right. With penetrating insight, Dr. Bondurant shows where satyagraha is potentially most relevant to the solution of serious weaknesses in Western political theory and practice. The more snug political thinkers and leaders, no doubt, will do their best to ignore this book, to dismiss it as "another Gandhi book." They will do so, however, at the cost both of their own ignorance and of increasing the chances of there either being no future at all for humanity, or of its being one of manipulated tyranny.

Without pretending to provide all of the answers or to offer the final analysis, Dr. Joan Bondurant has pointed to the nature of our political crisis and pioneered in a field of potentially great future significance for mankind. This book must be translated into many languages and republished throughout the world. No thinking person ought to miss it.

Edwin Jones' house . . . a baby wailed his first cry . . . If this is what you like, blessings on you.

A last paragraph, mainly domestic. All Quakers should read this book. Elderly Friends will treasure the memorial to a man who successively exasperated, bewildered, inspired, and charmed them in the days of which the book tells. These are the Friends who are liable, as was Rufus, to quote Browning. Friends of middle age and slightly less, who are inclined to quote Gerard Manley Hopkins, will learn that there is much more to R.M.J. than they have ever really had time or talent to grasp. Young Friends, who are generally inarticulate, will learn something about their own Quakerism.

## Books received

**Guides to Straight Thinking**, by Stuart Chase (Phoenix, 25s).

**Behind the Smiling Moon**, by Michael Fourest (Centaur Press, 12s 6d).

**The Liberation of Italy**, by Luigi Villari (C. C. Nelson Publishing Co., USA, 5 dollars).

**The Blue Eyed Boy**, by Ethel Mannin (Jarrolds, 15s).

**The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi, Vol. 2** (The Publications Division, Government of India, 16s 6d).

**Everyman's Africa**, by John Hatch (Dobson, 21s).

**Why Nato**, by Paul-Henri Spaak (Penguin, 1s 6d).

**Lighten Our Darkness**, by Raymond Richley (Stockwell, Ltd., 7s 6d).

The inclusion of a book in this list does not preclude its subsequent review.

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Fenner Brockway on

# THE FABIANs

THE Fabians have a unique reputation in the world as the intellectuals of Socialism.

A decade before the Labour Party was formed the Fabian Essays, to which Bernard Shaw and the Webbs contributed, started the ferment of thought in the middle class which preceded the emergence of Socialism as a political influence in Britain. Ever since then British intellectual Socialists have regarded the Fabian Society as their spiritual club.

Some sections of the Labour Movement have considered Fabians to be snobs, but the value of their contributions to socialist thought, of the facts they have massed from research, has been immense. I remember Keir Hardie saying fifty years ago that the Fabian Society was the intellectual armoury of Socialism.

These middle-class intellectuals have always been a little distant from the dynamism of the Movement. They did not know the bitter experience of poverty and victimisation which inflamed Labour's working class pioneers. They were somewhat contemptuous of the idealism and human evangelism which stirred the devotion of the ILP whose dedicated campaigning led to the establishment of the Labour Party. Indeed, the Fabians began by opposing the formation of a Labour Party. They had the naive idea that Socialism would come by penetrating and influencing the Tory and Liberal Parties!

THE Fabians have represented the respectable and moderate elements in the British Labour Movement. They have moved

in the "best" circles of society. They have never broken from the Establishment.

I've often been amused to see how they have been feared by the White Settler communities in Africa. It was a last term of abuse in Kenya or the Rhodesias to be described as a "Fabian Nigger-lover."

This was because of the activity of the Fabian Colonial Bureau, an offshoot of the Society. It did for the anti-colonial cause what its parent body had done for Socialism: published masses of facts gathered by its research workers. Among the colonial peoples it gained the same kind of reputation as the Fabian Society among the British working class: it was thought to be paternalistic and academic. During the period of the post-war Labour Government it was held to be the voice of the Colonial Office, and that lost it a good deal of confidence among Africans. But faith was restored by its outspoken criticism of Central African Federation, and no one can doubt the importance of its contribution in these last few years to the awakening of the Labour Movement to the urgency of the Colonial issue.

I BEGAN to write with the purpose of reviewing "New Fabian Colonial Essays" (Hogarth Press, 25s.) which has just been published.

Instead, I have been making some estimate of the Fabian Society and the Fabian Commonwealth Bureau (as the Colonial bureau has been re-named). In fact, what I have written about the Society and the Bureau does indicate the value of this book. It is a collection of essays by experts on the problems of colonialism in the present stage of development from imperialism to an international order. The Editor is Creech Jones and the authors are all authorities on their subjects. They are doctors diagnosing the body politic rather than propagandists, but their essays are provocative, informative and constructive, and many of us will turn to them again and again.

I cannot begin to comment on all the subjects spread before us. Rita Hinden is historical, Kenneth Younger usefully relates present-day Colonialism with the Cold War, Thomas Balogh and Arthur Gaitskell analyse the economic problem of the territories emerging to independence, other essays discuss social development, emphasise the importance of education and describe the function of the United Nations and its agencies. Eirene White looks at the socialist forces at work in the Commonwealth.

THE most controversial essay is by Thomas Balogh, the economist Fellow of Balliol College. He argues that the Liberal approach to the Colonies—the right to national independence—is not enough.

He emphasises how the imperialist Powers have exploited the colonies, how they have been left without economies which can sustain independence, how capitalist investment, particularly from America, is creating a new form of economic imperialism, and how only planned economic aid and organisation on a Socialist basis can enable the emerging political freedoms to succeed.

This is undoubtedly the big problem to which we must now be giving our minds. It can be solved only by a recognition of the intense Nationalism which is bringing political freedom. In some territories there

is even some resentment of economic aid as a form of paternalism. Any plan must be theirs as much as ours.

I would like to see the next Labour Government (or, in default of that, the Labour Party) calling a conference of representatives of the new independent Governments, and of the national movements in the territories not yet free, to work out a scheme for international economic planning which would be acceptable to them and which they would feel did not prejudice their rights and liberties.

This is only one idea of many which have come to me from reading the "New Fabian Colonial Essays." Everyone should read it.

## BOOKS TO COME

This is only a brief list of forthcoming books. We shall publish a fuller list when publishers' plans which were greatly disrupted by the recent printing dispute are rearranged.

**To Feed the Hungry** (MacGibbon and Kee, 30s.). Danilo Dolci's own account of his struggles on behalf of the people of Palermo.

**The Cool World** (Secker and Warburg, 25s.). A novel by Warren Miller about teen-age negro gangs in New York's slums.

**Thirteen days that shook the Kremlin: Imre Nagy and the Hungarian Revolution** (Thames and Hudson, 21s.). Tibor Meray, a close friend of Imre Nagy and who was by his side throughout the Hungarian Revolution, gives a move by move account of the genesis and development of the revolt.

**Bitter Harvest: the intellectual revolt behind the Iron Curtain** (Thames and Hudson, 25s.). A collection of stories, poems and essays by Russian writers which is symptomatic of the new mood now in evidence in the Soviet Union.

**Absolute Beginners** (MacGibbon and Kee, 15s.). A novel by Colin MacInnes, author of *City of Spades*, which explores the world of young people with a background of Notting Hill and the race riots.

**Gezira** (Faber & Faber, 42s.). Deals with one of the outstanding problems of today: how to increase the wealth of the under-developed countries. Written by the first Chairman and Managing Director of the present Sudan Gezira Board who himself worked for 29 years on the scheme.

**The Flowers of Hiroshima** (MacGibbon & Kee, 15s.). A novel by Edith Morris whose article on the effects of the A-bomb on Hiroshima has been reprinted as a leaflet by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. It is set in Hiroshima and recounts the experiences of an American tourist who came to live there.

**The Somme** (MacGibbon and Kee, 21s.). Paul Johnson's account of one of the most frightful battles in British history, where the British Army suffered 600,000 casualties to gain twelve miles of mud.

And finally, without comment: **Shoot to Kill**, by Richard Miers, with a foreword by General Sir Francis Festing, GCB, KBE, DSO, ADC, Chief of the Imperial General Staff (Faber & Faber, 18s.). The publishers' blurb for the book says, "Brigadier Miers commanded the First Battalion, the South Wales Borderers, in Malaya, and was in charge of the extensive mopping-up operations against the Communist terrorists still at large there. *Shoot to Kill* is a vivid, exciting and compellingly readable picture of the forgotten war still continuing in the Malayan jungles."

PEACE NEWS, August 28, 1959—7

## The battle against an error

**Race Prejudice and Education**, by Cyril Bibby. Heinemann, 7s. 6d.

THIS little book of ninety pages was commissioned by Unesco and is addressed specifically to teachers, but there is scarcely anyone, whether he has any direct connection with education or not, who would not profit from reading it, and for teachers and parents it should be a "must."

Dr. Bibby summarises what is known, and surmised, by scientists about the characteristics and origins of the three main ethnic groupings or subdivisions of the human race, Caucasoid, Mongoloid and Negroid, which are commonly, though erroneously, known as "races." It is probably too late now to eradicate this error, and perhaps it does not greatly matter if the word "race" is used to mean one of these ethnic groupings, so long as it is realised that there is no such thing as, e.g., an Aryan, an Anglo-Saxon, or even less a British race, of all of which one not infrequently hears. The word "British" can have none but a political meaning, "appertaining to the British Commonwealth or organisation of nations," "Aryan" and "Anglo-Saxon" are epithets that can be applied only to language groups; in the words of Chapter 1 "to speak of an 'Aryan race' is as great an abuse of words as to speak of a 'black-skinned language.'"

## Xenophobia

So what is called "Race Prejudice" is rather a form of xenophobia directed against anything that is felt to be foreign or strange, whether in manners and culture or in physical characteristics, such as the colour of skin or hair or the shape of nose or eyes, and it is usually particularly virulent when there exists an excuse for fear or jealousy of the stranger on, e.g., economic or sexual grounds. Such prejudice is an emotional manifestation: its victims are unconscious of its causes in themselves and others and consequently largely inaccessible to reasoned argument or persuasion. But no doubt something can be done to prevent its spreading by a calm and objective presentation of the facts by teachers and others, especially before the emotions have been aroused.

One small but important suggestion of Dr. Bibby's is that by speaking of Jewish Germans or Negro Americans rather than German Jews or American Negroes one can help to put things in a more correct perspective. Much too can be done by the encouragement of contacts between "races" and culture groups, by teacher exchanges with other countries, by invitations to Negro and other foreign students to visit schools, by "pen friends" correspondence, by the reading in school of books such as Alan Paton's "Cry the Beloved Country," and in many other ways.

Children tend to learn more from the practice of adults than from their preaching, and if we make sure that we are ourselves free of prejudice we have taken the biggest step towards influencing our children.

The book ends with a useful bibliography and a list of organisations working against race prejudice and for a better understanding between peoples.

SCOTT BAYLISS.

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# CATHOLIC THINKING ON WAR

**Morals & Missiles.** Catholic Essays on the problem of War Today. James Clarke & Co., 2s. 6d.

"WHEN I was a child, I was punished, and rightly so, for being naughty or doing wrong," said a conscientious objector in his defence. "Naughtiness included a number of things; theft was one, but above all it was wrong to do anybody or their property harm in order to get your own way. That's what dad taught me, and I have never seen any reason to think he was wrong because some politician or other, or a so-called representative Government told me to do otherwise."

No doubt many critics, Catholic or otherwise, would dismiss such defence of pacifism as a trifle naive. To the present writer it would seem to hold good, as the only permanently tenable philosophic argument in the subject under discussion. We must be grateful to Messrs. James Clarke & Co. for giving us the first notable Catholic contribution to thought in this matter. Here we have, in this book, produced at a reasonable price: *Introduction*, by Count de la Bedoyere; *Nuclear Dilemma*, by Archbishop Roberts, S.J.; *War and Christian Conscience*, by Fr. Franziskus Strammann, O.P.; *A Conversation on the Hydrogen Bomb*, by Canon F. H. Drinkwater;

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*The Two Pacifisms*, by Christopher Hollis; *Unjustifiable War*, by E. I. Watkin; *Thy Neighbour as Thyself*, by Sir Compton Mackenzie; *The Ideal of Non-violence*, by Dom. Bede Griffiths, OSB.

## Tragic road

These essays, with some of which Catholics will be already familiar (while not declaring with the clarity of his Eminence Cardinal Tardini that modern warfare is always wrong), are in fact a useful endorsement of the sentiments of the late Holy Father:

"Every day is a melancholy step forward on this tragic road; is a hastening

on to arrive alone, first, with greater advantage. And the human race almost loses hope of being able to stop this homicidal, this suicidal madness. To increase the alarm and terror, there have come modern radio-guided missiles, capable of traversing enormous distances, to carry thither, by means of atomic weapons, total destructions to men and things. In order that nations may be checked in this race towards the abyss, we once again raise our voice, asking for light and strength from the Risen Christ for those who control the destinies of nations."—*Pope Pius XII, Easter, 1956.* This is a book which can be wholeheartedly commended. We only regret that like another widely circulated book of Catholic principles on war it fails to bear the Imprimatur.

Father J. F. T. PRINCE.

## ANOTHER GERMAN MIRACLE!

By Dr. Lore Frobenius

*Germany and the East-West Crisis.* By William S. Schlaam. (David McKay, New York.)

IN six weeks "Germany and the East-West Crisis" became a best-seller in Germany. It was first published in instalments in a German illustrated paper, and though published during a dead season for book-buying in Germany, people almost queued to buy it.

Who exactly is its author William S. Schlaam? He is an Austrian refugee, former Communist and Stalinist, later a

Trotskyist. In 1938 he emigrated from Prague to the United States and joined the Luce group of papers "Time," "Life," and "Fortune." He became one of the most ardent crusaders against Communism and a supporter of McCarthy and his magazine "National Review."

The book was apparently no great success in the United States. In Germany, people were at first fascinated by his clever analysis of the so-called "German economic miracle" and its deteriorating effect on the German people. His observations are very shrewd indeed and he brings a lot of genuine, if unflattering information to

## WANTS WAR

In the second part of the book Schlaam reveals his true intentions. In brief, his book presents the following thesis:

Communism prospers in peace, wants peace, is victorious in peace. Instead of approving of this situation, democracy must become more militant. In order to prevent a world-wide Communist victory, the West must be ready and willing not only to prepare for war, but to make war with nuclear bombs.

Mr. Schlaam wants a military attack on Russia and his theory is very close to the theories of Hitler and Mussolini. His plan is for a close alliance of Germany and America, not for defensive but for offensive purposes. The aim of this alliance would be to restore the frontiers of 1933. The Federal Republic is to act as the one and only successor to the Third Reich and is to demand East Germany from the Russians. The Russians are to retreat to their own borders under the threat of a nuclear war.

## RIDICULES PACIFISTS

Schlaam ridicules all pacifists. He is particularly savage about physicists and scientists who warn about the dangers of nuclear weapons. He reproaches them for "misleading" the public with their criminal nonsense. He solves the whole problem of nuclear weapons by superficially quoting Edward Teller, the American Government scientist.

Schlaam is honest enough to mention that nuclear bombs would be dropped on Germany and that the country would cease to exist. He considers the fate of the German people to die so that the Free World may be saved! As one critic put it: "Germany would be at last reunified—except that there would be no living Germans."

The whole business is very puzzling. A lot of newspapers attacked the book, yet it sells like mad. Do the readers realise what it means?

## Cheap and good

By ALAN LOVELL

MORE and more worthwhile books are being published in paper-back form. Even some of the traditional publishing houses like Faber are reprinting their books as paper-backs. Among some of the most interesting that have been published recently or will be published in the near future are:

*The Naked and the Dead* (Corgi, 3s 6d), by Norman Mailer, easily the best novel to come out of the war. *Women in Love* (Corgi, 3s 6d), one of the best of D. H. Lawrence's novels. You'll have to look carefully for it since a hideous cover fairly effectively disguises it. (Another of Lawrence's best novels, *Sons and Lovers*, is available as a Penguin at 5s).

Penguin are publishing some "specials" in September. Three are election publications, *The Conservative Case*, by Viscount Hailsham, *The Labour Case*, by Roy Jenkins, and *The Liberal Case*, by Roger Fulford. Those who feel that the cases of the three parties will not deal with the central political question of the day can take heart from the fact that the fourth special by Wayland Young is *Strategy for Survival: first steps in Nuclear Disarmament*. Other Penguins which have been recently published or which have recently been reprinted include *Brave New World*, by Aldous Huxley (2s 6d.), *A Passage to India*, by E. M. Forster (3s 6d.), *The Good Soldier Schweik*, by Jaroslav Hasek (5s), *New English Dramatists*, with plays by Doris Lessing, Arnold Wesker and Bernard Kops (3s 6d.), and *Disengagement in Europe*, by Michael Howard (2s 6d.).

Faber have reprinted in their new paper-back series T. S. Eliot's *Poems* and *Lord of the Flies*, William Golding's frightening parable of children shipwrecked on an island.

Of the more expensive paper-back publications, Evergreen books are easily the most exciting. The best of its recent publications is probably *Voices of Dissent* (14s 6d), a collection of articles from the American radical magazine *Dissent*. Among contributors are Ignazio Silone, Paul Goodman, and Norman Mailer. Mailer's famous article on the Beat Generation "The White Negro" is included in the book—it is also available as a pamphlet (City Lights Bookshop, San Francisco).

Other books include *For Esme with Love and Squalor* by J. D. Salinger, author of the famous novel *Catcher in the Rye* (Ace, 2s 6d.), and *Company of Cowards* (Ace, 2s. 6d.) by Jack Schaefer, who was one of the sponsors of Omaha Action.

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Of this great army of poor souls only 400 can be taken into tents if they are ill. The rest are sheltering in caves and amongst the rocks. Tents do not exist. Blankets are very rare and only the earth is beneath them when they sleep.

In the winter the cold in North Africa is really dreadful. In summer months the Sorooco blows without ease. It is a blistering wind which blows the few rags they still possess away into the desert.

Illness and hunger are constant companions. The local people have given with great sacrifice. Giving food means going without themselves as they usually have only one meal a day. The country provides little as it is barren and desolate.

We have hardship here in Britain but nothing like this. Most of us have much to be thankful for. These poor souls must feel that God has forgotten them and no help exists for them. Most of the aid received comes from Russia and the Iron Curtain countries. Little has come from the West. Is it any wonder they feel our form of democracy is of little worth. We are not concerned with the Politics of the War. We only know tiny children are dying.

Can you let this appeal pass you by. We think not. If you have anything at all to be thankful about please send us your aid. We on our part will forward your gift without one penny being deducted for expenses. Your gift, large or small, will be received with gratitude by the Hon. Treasurer of War on Want:

The Rt. Hon. Hilary Marquand, P.C., M.A., D.Sc., M.P.,  
9 Madeley Road, Ealing, W.5.



# STRIDE TOWARDS FREEDOM\*

THE Montgomery story is well known to confirmed readers of these columns. News of it was repeatedly featured in PN in 1956. A cartoon-strip of the story was later serialised, and this book was noticed when it was first published in the United States.

On December 1, 1955, Mrs. Rosa Parks, a Negress, was sitting in a Montgomery, Alabama, bus in the first seat behind the section reserved for whites. When more whites entered, the bus operator ordered her and three other Negroes to give up their seats. The other three obeyed; Mrs. Parks sat tight—and was arrested.

The non-violent bus boycott which this incident sparked off lasted until December 21, 1956, when the Supreme Court ruling that segregated buses were unconstitutional was forced to be put into effect in Montgomery. During these 13 months the Negroes organised their own travel arrangements, though many of them willingly walked a dozen miles a day. For their pains they were in turn victimised by the police, arrested en masse, dynamited and terrorised by the Ku Klux Klan.

## Boyhood

Martin Luther King recounts in this book the background, the struggle, the victory and some of the implications. He found himself the spokesman of the boycott, but he claims, "the Montgomery story would have taken place if the leaders of the protest had never been born." Certainly the social conditions would have precipitated a protest, but it would probably have taken a far uglier, less successful—and less significant—course.

These miserable racial conditions confronted the young Martin as they do every Negro child in the American South. One day, when he found he could no longer play with the white boys across the street, his mother tried to explain to him the system that affects everything from schools and housing to drinking fountains and lavatories.

"Then she said the words which almost every Negro hears before he can yet understand the injustice that makes them necessary, 'You are as good as anyone.'"

Two decades later the boy had become the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King and had returned with his wife to the South as a Baptist Minister, in the hope of helping a little to change the racial patterns in his homeland, but little guessing that "in a little more than a year we would be involved in a movement that was to alter Montgomery for ever, and to have repercussions throughout the world."

## Early influences

While he was at college—already with a "substantial" concern for racial and economic justice—he had heard A. J. Muste, one of the most experienced and thoughtful war resisters of the century, speak about pacifism.

"I was deeply moved by Dr. Muste's talk, but far from convinced of the practicality of his position. Like most of the students (there) I felt that while war could never be a positive or absolute good, it could serve as a negative good in the sense of preventing the spread and growth of an evil force. . . . During this period I had about despaired of the power of love in solving social problems."

Then one Sunday in Philadelphia he heard Dr. Mordecai Johnson, president of Howard University, preach on the life and teachings of Gandhi.

"His message was so profound and electrifying that I left the meeting and bought a half-dozen books on Gandhi's

★By Martin Luther King (Gollancz, 16s.; Harpers, \$2.95).

life and works. Like most people, I had heard of Gandhi, but I had never studied him seriously. As I delved deeper into the philosophy of Gandhi my scepticism concerning the power of love gradually diminished, and I came to see for the first time its potency in the area of social reform. Prior to reading Gandhi, I had about concluded that the ethics of Jesus were only effective in individual relationship. . . . When racial groups and nations were in conflict a more realistic approach seemed necessary. But after reading Gandhi I saw how utterly mistaken I was."

It was this background that Dr. King brought to the Montgomery scene. How



CHRISTOPHER FARLEY

he put his new-found knowledge into practice, how non-violence shaped the struggle, how the churches became the living centres of the resistance, how the campaign was conducted—all this can only be learned at first hand from the book. And Dr. King is at his best in straight narrative.

It is difficult to imagine a single volume from which there is more to learn. The dynamics of voluntary social commitment, means and ends, strategy and tactics, all these subjects and many more fall easily into their place in the book. Space forbids the discussion here of more than two lessons of the Montgomery story.

The first of these is the psychology of segregation. Dr. King explains the need for love:

"Since the white man's personality is greatly distorted by segregation, and his soul is greatly scarred, he needs the love of the Negro. The Negro must love the white man, because the white man needs his love to remove his tensions, insecurities and fears."

The other side of the picture was learned during the boycott, when extreme pressure was brought to bear in an attempt to smash it.

"I came to see that no one gives up his privileges without strong resistance. I saw further that the underlying purpose of segregation was to oppress and exploit the segregated, not simply to keep them apart."

Domination demands resistance; yet the white man desperately needs the love of the Negro. These facts point straight to non-violent resistance. And it is just this that can most dramatically shatter the whites' image of the Negro as an ever-subordinate servant and third class citizen. Consider what happened when the new Negro confronted the Ku Klux Klan:

"When the Klan arrived—about forty carloads of robed and hooded members—porch lights were on and doors open. At the Klan drove by, the Negroes behaved as though they were watching a circus parade. Concealing the effort it cost them, many walked about as usual; some simply watched from their steps; a few waved at the passing cars. After a few blocks, the Klan, nonplussed, turned off into a side street and disappeared into the night."

Nor are the hooded Klansmen merely an extreme example. Are not the lily-white segregationists of the White Citizens' Councils the KKK in grey flannel suits? It is non-violent resistance which can meet their pathological condition because it breeds the first requirement for struggle—dignity.

## Strength

Another lesson from Montgomery is the vital significance of small, apparently unimportant and even absurd protests made at times when conformity and apathy reign. The refusal of Mrs. Rosa Parks to give up her seat followed countless earlier protests on Montgomery's buses.

This time, however, it moved people sufficiently to try to organise a boycott, and thus at last they discovered their own strength. But the boycott was in fact built on every earlier act against degradation on the buses.

The faith that victory can be won is an important aspect of any struggle. If men can learn to recognise the rôle of protest when the outlook seems blackest, they will learn that this is the darkness before the dawn. Thoreau put it like this:

"If on thousand, if one hundred, if ten men whom I could name—if ten honest men only—aye, if one honest man in the state of Massachusetts, ceasing to hold slaves, were actually to withdraw from the co-partnership, and be locked up in the county jail therefore, it would be the abolition of slavery in America. For it matters not how small the beginning may seem to be, what is once well done is done forever."

It is this lesson which can destroy the acceptance of permanent minority status which stultifies the greatest causes.

This book records a milestone in social change. That it is post-Gandhian and comes from the heart of the Deep South adds immeasurably to its value. All pacifists should read it, ponder it, learn from it—and read it again.

## PACIFISTS ON HOLIDAY

By J. Allen Skinner

THE Peace Pledge Union Holiday Conference sets out to be more of a holiday than a conference. Pacifists, their families and friends come together to find holiday entertainment in congenial company and take advantage of the opportunity this offers for discussion among themselves of some aspects of pacifist policy.

It was probably a result of the splendid weather that this year at Borth, North Wales, there was less disposition for organised excursions, although whenever Richard Darlington presented himself he got busy as usual in organising the activities of the more energetic.

The weather this year lessened the need for any considerable variety of indoor recreations, although Frances Morgan introduced some to the seductions of "Scrabble." The big indoor event was of course the table tennis tournament to which Frances Morgan had given added importance by the presentation of a cup trophy for competition. It was won by Barry Gillingham, of Rugby, in a tremendously exciting contest in a final with Arlo Tatum. A Pantyfedwen team carried off the tug-of-war prize in the beach sports organised for the whole of the holiday-makers in Borth.

The week's discussions were directed to a consideration of non-violence, direct action, and non-resistance. John Aitkenhead spoke on non-violence in the home and in the school, Sybil Morrison gave an

## THE MAN OF GALILEE

According to Andrew, by Frank R. Hancock. James Clarke & Co., 10s. 6d.

SOME years ago Frank Hancock wrote a remarkably perceptive article for the Hibbert Journal under the title, "The Man of Galilee," in which he distinguished between two main strands to be found in the Christian story.

One of these is to be seen in the "synoptic" gospels (Matthew, Mark and Luke) and is the story dealing with the loving recollections of the character and sayings of the man who had so inspired the people to whom he had brought his message, and which would inevitably carry with it some of the embroiderings and embellishments designed to gratify the desire for an accompaniment of "signs and wonders" which was the outcome of the unscientific credulity of the age.

The other is the story emanating from Antioch, deriving largely from Paul, Peter and Luke, and consists of the elaborate theological structure based on the story of the resurrection and the expectation of the imminent end of the world.

★

That there was a sufficiently vivid tradition of the details of the life of Christ to provide the stories set down in the accounts according to Matthew, Mark and Luke, when these came to be set down, is in itself a remarkable portent. That there was, so many years after the death of Christ, still existing this body of oral record of the sayings and doings of the personage who was at the centre of the Christian tradition must be regarded as providing a wonderful testimony to the inspiration that was derived from the character, actions and teachings of the man Jesus.

Frank Hancock has now ventured on an imaginative reconstruction of the life of Jesus as seen by one of his disciples in "According to Andrew: A Life of Jesus—Son of Man." In this account of the story of Christ the reader will find much from which he will get illumination and doubtless also many pieces of interpretation that he will question. Equally, however, in what the reader will be ready to accept and what he will feel called upon to reject there will be found material that will give to his future reading of the New Testament story a more substantial and "three dimensional" character than it will have had for him hitherto.—J.A.S.

SYBIL MORRISON will contribute her column next week.

account of early examples of direct action, particularly in the women's suffrage movement, this correspondent dealt with problems presented in the development of methods of non-violent direct action today, and Stuart Morris gave a final lecture in which he advanced the claims of a policy of non-resistance.

★

Thursday evening was devoted to "Any Questions," where it is open to any participant in the conference to put a question and to anyone who desires to provide an answer. The session this year was mainly concerned with what should be the attitude of pacifists in a general election, and the proposal that has been called "Voters' Veto" came in for very vigorous discussion.

There were no conclusion reached in the course of these discussions, but doubtless lines of thought were opened for many of those present that will be of assistance in the development of discussions in the groups.

Friday evening was as usual given over to entertainment. This was again compered by Arlo Tatum who also delighted us all once more with his songs. Ann Scott, the Pantyfedwen hostess, played Welsh, Scots and Irish airs on the harp. John Aitkenhead provided a little "magic" and also some magic, without the quotes, by the way he involved the children in the proceedings. Some of the girls who had been waiting on us at meals sang most charmingly some Welsh songs and duets.

Next year the venue of the holiday conference will be changed. It will be held during the week July 30-Aug. 6 near the Mumbles on Swansea Bay.

Apart from certain additional attractions and conveniences to be found in next year's home for the conference it was thought that there should be consideration for the desire for change on the part of the year by year habitués, although there will be many of these who said good-bye to Borth with a considerable infusion of regret.



# LOG BOOK—EUROPE

**T**HE War Resisters' International youth conference struck a topical note at its meeting this year at the Freundschaftsheim in Buckeburg, Germany.

Sixteen people attended, about half of them familiar British faces, the other half being representatives from Germany, Holland, Norway, Denmark and New Zealand. The discussions were about Direct Action and the philosophy of non-violence that underlies it.

I spoke about our experiences (and experiments) in Britain; Arlo Tatum, Secretary of the WRI on the possible pitfalls in the methods of action we had chosen. The debate was a lively one, and if no agreement was thrashed out at least we all had to define our positions pretty clearly.

I found it interesting that the point at issue was not the old query about civil disobedience and democracy but whether the sort of pressure that was put on the lorry driver when one sat in front of his lorry was a legitimate one.

There is certainly room for discussion here and one has only to imagine the effect on the driver afterwards if he injured or killed a demonstrator to know what those who object to this particular form of direct action are driving at.

There was a lively debate too about the extent to which one ought to campaign on a straight pacifist ticket (if there is such a thing) or to make the nuclear weapons issue the basis of the campaign. In either case it seems to me there will be a lot of issues that will only be decided at a later stage in the campaign.

## Gandhi

Niels Mathieson spoke about the Oslo study group discussions on Gandhi's philosophy and ethics and the conference spent a good deal of time discussing the sixteen points or "norms" listed in Professors Galtung and Naess' "Gandhi's Politiske Etik" and seeing how far the Direct Action Committee's projects in England conformed to them.

Not that Gandhi had it all his own way either. Sometimes it was the suggested norms that came under fire.

This is a healthy sign. The last thing we want in the pacifist movement is a personality cult of Gandhi (and we come pretty close to it at times). I feel that it's misleading anyway to talk of a Gandhian ethic; what Gandhi did was not to provide us with a brand new set of ethics but to show us how ethical principles that are almost truisms could be applied to situa-

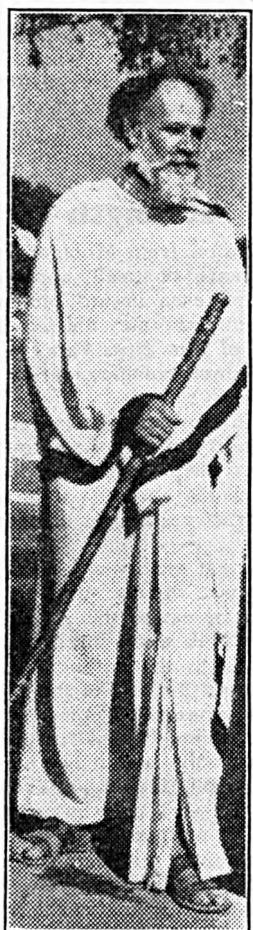
## By Michael Randle

*Chairman of the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War.*

tions of group conflict. This was his unique and tremendously significant contribution.

## Sahara bluff

The conference, as good conferences should, proved a stimulus to action. Afterwards three people who had attended, Elaine Rich, Harry Marsh, and Francis Hansen, took part in a radical demonstra-



Lanza del Vasto

tion at Dortmund rocket base and Niels Jonassen took part in, and helped organise, the demonstration in Denmark against the unloading of the Nike missile.

I went with Ron Taylor (who is such a lively company that even a 16-hour train journey in a corridor becomes bearable) as far as Paris. There we spoke with various contacts about what could be done in France in the way of protest against the coming Sahara tests.

Many of the people we wanted to meet were away on holiday, but we did see Louis Lecoin, the radical, anarcho-pacifist editor of *Liberté*. He is chiefly concerned about the issue of conscientious objection and is convinced that before long we shall see a statute in France recognising the COs' position and providing for alternative service. Others I spoke to later were less optimistic.

We also saw Mlle. Odette du Puigaudeau the geologist from Brittany (she is not French, she insists: it's like, very like in fact, calling a Welshman English) who has spent many years in the very part of the Sahara where the French tests are scheduled to take place.

She is busy calling the bluff of the French authorities who are trying to make out that the area is uninhabited desert (which it isn't) and is most concerned for the health and lives of the people who live in the area.

Ron had to return to England after a day and the last night we roamed Paris

seeing the sights. We were shocked to see a troop of policemen parading one of the *Grandes Boulevards* armed with machine-guns. Metropolitan France has not escaped the grimmer aspects of the Algerian war it seems. Afterwards when we saw a gendarme with the usual pistol and white baton Ron turned to me. "He's daring, isn't he?" he said.

## Community in action

My last port of call was the Lanza del Vasto community at St. Pierre Bollene in Vaucluse (about 50 km from Avignon). Again most people were away including Lanza del Vasto himself, but I had a long talk with Rolland Marin who is in charge of the organisation of radical demonstrations such as those at the Marcoule atom plant last year. At present they are concentrating their energies on the scandal of the Algerian internment camps, but Rolland Marin was interested in a possible Sahara protest.

The community itself, where at normal times forty people including women and children live and co-operate together, is also an attempt to meet some of the problems that, as I was saying earlier, soon crop up in any pacifist or near-pacifist campaign. The community idea is not new in pacifist circles and the experiments to date have not been conspicuously successful; but the instinct to make this kind of venture is, I feel sure, a sound one.

## For the record . . .

**F**ORTY per cent of American youths conscripted for military training are unqualified mentally, physically or morally for any kind of military service.

Almost 11 per cent of the US Navy faced trial and court-martial in 1958. 20,000 sailors were in jail during the second half of 1957.

Many servicemen are indifferent, have no interest in their jobs, and in some cases are openly hostile to authority.—Military Editor of the New York Times.

**Thirty leading French scientists** have appealed to their government urging it to seek an agreement forbidding the testing, manufacture, stockpiling and use of atomic weapons, according to *Le Monde*, August 3.

**Chiang Kai-shek's troops** are to take over US missiles sent to Formosa last September during the Quemoy crisis, according to an announcement from the island on August 9.

**Because of the lack of adequate aid** to discharged prisoners, men and women in Alberta, Canada, are released without any help, neither money nor suitable clothing being provided and, in winter, can almost freeze to death. To meet this situation the Edmonton (Alberta) Fellowship of Reconciliation are making arrangements to befriend such people.

**The United States** may soon have to reduce the size of its operational fleet if the naval budget is maintained at its current level of only \$11,000,000,000 (£3,927,000,000), Admiral Burke, Chief of Naval Operations, said on August 17. He believed that it is still possible to win major wars.

**"The Devil's Plaything,"** an Irish comedy by Parnell Bradbury satirising the attitude of people to the H-bomb, is being presented this week by the Farnham (Surrey) Repertory Company at the Castle Theatre, Farnham.

## IN THE NEWS

### 'Chance of your life'

**O**VER two thousand people, including many holidaymakers, visited "The Chance of Your Life" exhibition presented in a hall on the western esplanade or Southend-on-Sea by the local CND group from August 1 to 8.

Two hundred signatures were forthcoming for an anti-H-bomb petition, and an area CND Youth Section was successfully established as a result of the exhibition. On loan from the Watford group, the exhibition explains the nature of nuclear power, and stresses the possibilities of its peaceful use especially for under-developed countries, in contrast with its abuse for military purposes.

On Saturday, August 8, over a hundred CND supporters marched along the packed Southend High Street, thronged with holiday visitors, to hold a sea-front meeting commemorating Hiroshima Day. Mr. Sullivan of the local group pointed out the futility of Civil Defence, which was regarded as of minor importance by town councils, and Will Warren, of the Direct Action Committee, called for a local non-violent resistance campaign against nearby Foulness Island nuclear weapons establishment.

## CANADA'S GERMS

**E**XPERIMENTS being carried out at Canada's Germ Warfare Station at Suffield, Alberta, are needed for defence and do not create any hazard in the surrounding countryside, the Edmonton Fellowship of Reconciliation have been officially told.

The Group's President, Ronald Mossman, told *Peace News* last week that the Group are asking Mr. H. W. Herridge, MP, to raise in the Canadian House of Commons the question of why the Research Station is under military control and not civilian control.

The Group are satisfied that they have at last obtained some publicity about the Station and what is going on there. They hope to obtain enough material to start a letter-writing campaign in all the newspapers in the province.

**FOOTNOTE:** Last Saturday saw the gathering of the Indian bands to celebrate Treaty Day with a picnic. The Edmonton *FOR* Group felt honoured at being invited to undertake the catering for the celebration, for the occasion is a strictly Indian affair.

## Italian bulletin on 'just war'

**T**HE Italian journal "Co-existence and Progress in the Catholic World" contains a great wealth of quotation tending to the point of view that under present-day conditions no war can possibly be a "just war" as defined by the theologians of the Church in the past.

Among those quoted in this sense, or something very near it, are Father Cordovani, O.P., a Vatican theologian ("the conditions of a just war can virtually never obtain today"), Cardinal Ottaviani, pro-secretary of the Holy Office (he is said, "like other theologians," to condemn on like grounds military conscription), Father Vermersch, S.J., Prof. of Moral Theology in the Pontifical Gregorian University, Father Keller, Prof. of Theology at Freiburg, Father Stratmann, O.P., in an address in 1948 to the Dutch Bishops, Monsignor Colli, and finally Don Luigi Sturzo, as long ago as 1928, signing such a declaration with six other theologians.

Copies of the bulletin may be obtained from: The Editor, *Coesistenza e progresso nel mondo cattolico*, Piazza Montecitorio, 115, Rome.

**Recent work** of Crowan Pottery, by pacifists Harry and May Davis, is now being exhibited at the Crafts Centre, 16-17 Hay Hill, Berkeley Square, W.1, together with a photographic display illustrating the working background and economic potentialities of a rural pottery. The exhibition is open on weekdays from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. (Saturdays to 12.30 p.m.) until Sept. 2 and is well worth a visit, particularly by young people in search of a creative career.

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## DIARY

Sunday, August 30

LONDON, S.W.4: 3 p.m. Clapham Common. Open-air meeting. Sybil Morrison and others. PPU.

Wednesday, September 2

LONDON, W.8: 10.30 a.m. and 1.15 p.m. Town Hall, High St. London Local Tribunal for COs. Pub. Adm.

ST. LEONARDS-ON-SEA: 7 p.m. 78a Norman Rd. AGM and report "Is Co-Existence with Communism Possible?" read by Mary Wray. PPU.

Thursday, September 3

LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m. 119d Whipp's Cross Rd., "Polish Holiday." Dick Mercer. PPU.

Sunday, September 6

LONDON, W.1: 3 p.m. Hyde Park, Speakers' Corner. Sybil Morrison. PPU.

LONDON, W.4: 3 p.m. Turnham Green. Open-air mtg. CND.

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MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m. Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian Pacifist open-air meeting. MPF.

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# The lessons of post-war Asia

By FENNER BROCKWAY, MP

Chairman of the Movement for Colonial Freedom.

IT is important sometimes to put on one side immediate problems, however urgent, and to consider the deeper and more enduring issues behind the controversies of the moment.

I am led to do this because I have been discussing with Asian friends the trends in their countries following the political revolutions which have spread independence during the last ten years. African countries are now passing through similar revolutions. The Asian experience is important to them both as a guide and a warning.

Independence came to the Asian nations as a direct result of the last World War.

India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Burma won their political freedom from the British Labour Government in 1947. In the case of India (including Pakistan) and of Ceylon there had been strong Nationalist movements for a long time, and in the post-war situation, with British troops and people tired of conflict, it would have been difficult for any Government in London (except, perhaps, under imperialist-minded Churchill) to maintain the British occupation. But in Burma and the other countries in South-East Asia, part of French and Dutch Empires as well as British, the surge towards independence had a different cause.

## Shock

The European Governments had been accepted as protectors. It was a profound shock to the peoples when on the outbreak of war they found the European forces withdrawing when attacked by the troops of Japan, an Asian nation, leaving them to suffer the barbarities of the military occupation. The peoples of Burma, Malaya and Indonesia had to form their own independent resistance movements to the Japanese administration.

From that moment the moral authority of the old Imperialisms disappeared in Asia.

The national resistance movements took over the direction which had been European and became the vital force. It is a little surprising that, disillusioned with the West, they did not make terms with their fellow-

## U.N. Committee report on South-West Africa

THE UN Committee on South-West Africa has expressed grave concern over conditions in that territory, and has drawn up a series of recommendations urging the South African Government to take measures to improve the status of non-Europeans there.

The Committee assails the policy of apartheid and asserts that the South African Government's goal "is the annexation of the territory."

The UN contends that since South-West Africa was originally administered under a League of Nations mandate, it should be placed under UN trusteeship, as have the other mandated territories. The South African Government has repeatedly declared that it does not recognise the authority of the UN on matters concerning the territory.

The Committee also expresses its "deep concern" over the stationing of armed forces, the establishment of a military training school and other military measures in the territory, contrary to the League mandate.

The Committee's report will be considered by the UN General Assembly session which begins in September.

Asians from Japan. If Tokyo had not been so arrogant they might have done so. Instead they tended, though not entirely, to turn to Soviet Russia and the new Communism resurgent in China.

## Pressures

Political democracy began in Asia in the most difficult conditions. There was post-war chaos. The first reaction to the withdrawal of military rule was local and tribal self-assertion and sometimes these persisted and cut into the sense of nationhood. There was no apprenticeship in democracy. Countries were plunged from alien dictatorship into Parliamentary elections of which they had had no previous experience. Sometimes politicians exploited the new democracy. There was a good deal of corruption, partly a hangover from wartime black-markets and sycophancy.

Then the cold war bedevilled the situation.

Where Western influence still counted, it was exerted to crush the Communists; in some territories, the elected Governments turned on them. The Communists, on their side, began a revolutionary movement to overthrow the Governments, even when democratically chosen; they tried it in India and throughout South-East Asia. Despite the Colombo Plan, economic privation and insecurity grew through the fall in world prices.

Under these severe pressures, political democracy has reeled. India and Ceylon have so far stood firm. The Malayan Government has been propped up by the presence of British troops. But in Pakistan, Burma, Thailand, Indonesia power has now passed from democratic control (Pakistan in eleven years of independence has not yet had an election) and from elected Governments to rule largely through military officers and the Army. It has seemed as though political democracy were incapable of preventing disastrous division and strife.

## Revolt

In Africa we have seen the same development in Egypt and in the Sudan. Egypt was never, of course, a real democracy, but it required a military coup to overthrow the corrupt régime of King Farouk and a fictitious Parliament.

A third stage is now developing in Asia.

There is a growing tendency among the people, particularly among the young, to revolt against their whole background and its social values.

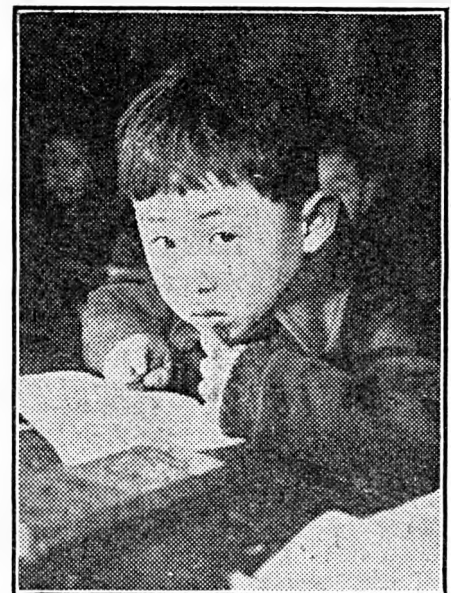
The psychology of the Angry Young Men of the East is described graphically by Dennis Bloodworth (Observer, June 14, 1959):

"They are imbued with an urgent desire to wash away everything associated with a soiled past—exploitation, capitalism and colonialism, the ponderous rule of law, bureaucracy and red tape, pin-tables and fast cars, Hollywood films, prostitution, whodunits, alcohol, the fat cushions of life and the ruthless race for wealth."

One might expect this attitude in a few dedicated reformers, but events indicate that it is flowing through dynamic movements. This is the explanation of the decision of the Socialist Government of Singapore, recently elected by a sweeping majority, to give an example of simple living by cutting the salaries of its own Ministers, to repress corruption, to ban sexy publications, to forbid leg-shows, and to reduce Rock'n'roll programmes. It is reflected in the decision of the Government of Ceylon to close down horse-racing and to convert the tracks of the Turf Clubs to athletics free from gambling.

A wave of Puritanism is moving across Asia.

It may be disturbing to those of us who dislike censorship, and the effect of morality



"new enthusiasm for education"  
A young Korean at school.

AFSC PICTURE

by compulsion if carried too far may be to arouse an uglier reaction.

## New values

But the new social value of service, even if this means poverty, rather than personal aggrandisement; the new contempt for corruption and unearned riches; the new enthusiasm for education and culture; these are of great hope in a world concentrated on material power.

From this austere movement in South-East Asia, which extends also to Communist China, may arise a new democracy. It rejects not only the colonialism of the West, but the material values of Western capitalism. It is based too much on human equality to accept permanently the pomp and the power of military or political dictatorships.

Will Africa repeat this Asian experience? I should like to see Africa reject the material values of the West, but I don't want the natural laughter and fun, the song and the dance, of its peoples to be dimmed by austerity. We look to Africa to give us an example of a happy, spontaneous democracy.

Copyright in India and Africa reserved to author.

## Dr. Edwards joins plaid

DR. HUW T. EDWARDS has joined Plaid Cymru (The Welsh Party), resigning from the Labour Party, the Aldermanic Bench of the Flintshire County Council, and from his position as leader of the Labour Group in that Council.

Announcing his resignation during the Eisteddfod week, he said that the Party had "lost its vision." In a letter to Plaid Cymru he said that he hoped his action "will influence others within and outside the labour movement."

Alderman Gwynfor Evans, leader of Plaid Cymru, has told Dr. Edwards: "Your lead may bring nearer by years the day when the Welsh people will have a democratic parliament elected by them, responsible to them and acting for them."

Plaid Cymru has over 14,000 members. Over 100 have come in during the holiday month of August. It is the only party contesting seats in Wales wholly opposed to weapons of mass destruction.

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## N.D.2 Sahara

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

**"THE news that France is about to test nuclear weapons in the Sahara calls for the most vigorous protest from all campaigners," says a call to Sunday's Trafalgar Square rally, sent out by the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War.**

The French test they say, "could be the beginning of the landslide which would result in many countries obtaining nuclear weapons—the thing we have all been talking about and afraid of. It is another step nearer World War III."

The tests are to be carried out in the teeth of the united opposition of the people of North Africa.

El Hammouda, near Reggan, where the tests are scheduled to be held, is not, as the French authorities claim, in the middle of uninhabited desert. The Direct Action Committee quote Mlle. Puigadeau, a French geologist who has spent many years in the area, who says:

"The desert is not uninhabited and El Hammouda is not in the middle of the bleak Tanzezrouft, but at the southern end of the Touat, which is the middle point of a great arc of valleys between Morocco and Nzab, one of the most fertile oasis regions of the Sahara."

"In the geographical system of the Touat, Gouarra and Tidikelt live 200,000 Arabs, Berbers, Jews and Negroes whose means of livelihood are agriculture, basket-work, weaving and trading by camel between the Sudan and the Magreb."

"One may be permitted a feeling of astonishment that atomic experiments are to take place in this green belt which, we are told by M. Augustin Bernard, of the Academie des Sciences, is unique in the whole Sahara."

## N.D.4 Polebrook demonstration

By ALAN LOVELL.

**THE most encouraging feature of the demonstration organised by the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War and the Peterborough Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament at the Polebrook rocket base on Saturday last was the number of Trade Unionists who took part.**

I saw banners from the Wellingborough Building Trades Operatives, the Kettering Building workers, and the Northampton Corporation National and Municipal General Workers Union branches.

Among the speakers were four trade unionists, including the Chairman of the Northampton Trades Council.

About 250 people took part in the march from Polebrook village to the rocket site where a meeting was held which attempted to get the workers to leave work or stop work for half an hour as a protest against the construction of the base. None left their jobs, nor was there any stoppage. Groups of workmen hung around near the entrance of the base listening to the speeches. What they thought about them it was impossible to tell since nobody was able to talk to them.

I suspect that on any rocket base there are only two or three men who can be challenged directly to examine their consciences about the work they are doing. The next problem for campaigners is to find methods of getting at the majority of workers. As a contribution to this, I commend the letter on page four from some of the people who took part in Saturday's demonstration.

N.D.1

## Municipal & General Workers' Conference

# BACK TO Mr. GAITSKELL'S FOLD

By Alan Lovell

**"A RATHER squalid attempt to bring us back as 'the best drilled and tamest delegation in the Trade Union movement,'" was how Mr. Leonard McNamee described the National Union of Municipal and General Workers' recall conference on H-bomb policy. And squalid this conference certainly was.**

It began with a laboured apology by the Chairman, Mr. Jack Cooper, for the recall. It appeared that the Union was in an impossible position as a result of the decision of the June annual Conference. Delegates just did not know what union policy was on international affairs.

In the course of this apology Mr. Cooper announced that no amendments to the motion could be submitted. Now, I do not know if the conference was rigged in any other way (pressure on the delegates, etc.), but I do know that this was a blatant piece

of rigging. Look at the advantages it gave the executive. There was an official proposer and seconder for the motion to support the new Labour Party statement (the non-nuclear club proposal) on international affairs. The proposer, Sir Tom Williamson, the General Secretary of the Union, had ten more minutes than anybody else to speak and also the right of reply. And the opposition had nothing to argue for, only something to argue against.

The grounds for refusing amendments were very thin. As soon as Mr. Cooper had announced the executive's decision, Mr. McNamee was on his feet claiming that under Union Rule 53 the chairman had to allow amendments to the motion. But Mr. Cooper rejected this because, he said, the rule applied only to ordinary, not special, conferences of the Union.

The tone and temper of Sir Tom Williamson's opening speech was thoroughly unpleasant. He also felt it necessary to spend some time explaining why the conference had been recalled and defending the executive against charges of rigging the debate.

The rest of the speech was an attempt to blur the issues and smear the unilateralists as pacifists (not that I think "pacifist" is a smear, but in the way that Williamson uses it as a synonym for somebody who is not prepared to defend his country, it is). There were, he said, two classes of people, both of whom were dangerous to world peace and freedom, the pacifists and the jingoists. The implication of this was that all the people in between these positions agreed with him on the need for controlled, multi-lateral disarmament as the only realistic way forward. This is to ignore entirely the position that has been put forward by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.



Sir TOM WILLIAMSON

## Pugwash talks re-opened

**LEADING world scientists from East and West began a week-long conference on biological and chemical warfare in Pugwash, Nova Scotia, on Monday.**

Main topics under discussion are: the practicality of biological and chemical weapons for warfare; the destructiveness of these weapons compared with nuclear weapons; their international control.

This is the fourth conference of the Pugwash Committee, held on the Nova Scotia estate of millionaire industrialist Cyrus Eaton.

The chairman's opening address was delivered by Earl (Bertrand) Russell. American, Russian and British scientists are among those present.

## Nuclear weapons used in Spain?

From Christopher Sames.

**UNCONFIRMED reports from Spain attributed to the "El Socialista" state that nuclear weapons were used in the big Spanish military exercise that took place during July (PN, August 14).**

## London march

One hour after the Sahara Tests March leaves Marble Arch on Sunday, a second march will leave (at 3 p.m.) and go to the Cenotaph, Downing Street, and on to the Spanish Embassy in Belgrave Square.

It will make known the opposition of Spanish anti-fascists to the presence in London of the Spanish Foreign Minister and the prospects of their country being admitted to NATO. The march is being organised by the Spanish Confederation of Labour members in exile in London from 159 Ledbury Road, London, W.11.

## GRAVEST WARNING

● FROM PAGE ONE

Mr. Khrushchov has declared that Russia will not be the first to resume nuclear testing.

**But President Eisenhower is under intense pressure from the armed forces and the Atomic Energy Commission to resume testing after October 31.**

The committee further complains that the AEC's biology and medicine division is understaffed. This is the division which has been responsible for estimating radioactivity levels for the USA. The British Government has, in part, based its assurances on the AEC's figures.

It is believed that many of the Government scientists who testified before the committee must have supported the position of the AEC in pressing for a renewal of tests.

as much as the supporters of the resolution they talked in old stale cliches.

There was, however, one incident in the debate that I would like to point to. Mr. Crane in supporting the resolution complained bitterly about the fact that his son had been sent to Cyprus with a gun that didn't work. Mr. Crane did not seem at all perturbed that his son had been sent to Cyprus to fight in a bloody and senseless colonial war. This is a real comment on the present state of the British Labour movement.

So the debate ended with a victory for the Executive by 55 votes. Sir Tom Williamson could go home happy in the knowledge that his union was safely back in the fold. Obviously not a man of any great imagination, Sir Tom, I suppose, will never realise the damage this special conference did to British democracy and the Trade Union movement.

## N.D.3 Call to all Social Workers

From a Correspondent

**IN the current issue of Case Conference, which is a professional journal for social workers and social administrators, and for which part responsibility lies with the Association of Social Workers, the following letter appears:**

"We believe that many social workers who protest as individuals against the envisaged use of nuclear weapons, will feel as we do that their personal beliefs are inseparable from their attitude to human beings which leads them to be social workers.

"Some architects have declared their belief that they threaten the world they want as architects if they subscribe to the making of nuclear weapons. Similarly some teachers have protested that to acquiesce in manufacturing and testing nuclear armaments is to deny the objects of their profession, to educate children for a full life. Some parents take their children with them on protest marches to demonstrate that they protest as parents.

"Are there some social workers who believe that the certain knowledge of the stupendously destructive effect of nuclear weapons is sufficient to make it clear that their fundamental belief in the unique value of every person is being violated? If so, and if they feel their protest is both strengthened and made more effective by joining with other social workers, we should like to hear from them."

The letter is from a group of workers in the Birmingham area—Madeline Manoukian, a psychiatric social worker, Ruth Heaton, a hospital almoner, Briar Wilson, a child care officer, Miss F. E. Waldron, lecturer in social casework at Birmingham University, and John Flatt, a probation officer. Anyone interested is invited to write to 69 Wheelleys Road, Birmingham 15.

**German Naturopaths** have organised a public meeting in Osnabrück on Aug. 31 to commemorate the twentieth anniversary of the outbreak of World War II. Speakers will include Prof. Hagemann, Dr. Siegmund Schmidt and speakers from Holland and Sweden.

## SAHARA PROTEST

PN

● We want a strong team of Peace News sellers to support the Direct Action Committee's march and meeting this coming Sunday.

● Supplies of the paper will be available at the Marble Arch gates of Hyde Park from 1.45 pm, or on the eastern side of Nelson's Column from 2.45 pm.

● Support the demonstration and Peace News at the same time.

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